1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

787 hunt. Seeing the outline of a game animal, like the moose, in the cup promises successful hunting. Another oracle is used to determine how many lynx (or any other specified fur animal) will be found in a person's traps.[1] The oracle is executed by winding a string around a smooth round stick according to prescribed directions and then placing the apparatus under one's pillow for several hours, after which the string is unwound. If, instead of falling free, the string is found looped around the stick one or more times, the practitioner is promised that number of pelts.

Omens of luck are more numerous than signs of misfortune. Hiccroughs promise good fortune, assuring the receipt of good news. Burning wood also provides an omen. "When you think of something and fire crack," Old Man said, "That's ghost telling you 'yes' or 'no.' He knows your mind." In other words, the sound of the fire closes a doubt or confirms a decision in the listener's mind. Another omen is the tingling of a woman's breasts. This sensation often predicts the quick return of a woman's long absent son or of some other relative.[2] Many dreams are portents of good and bad luck. The revelatory functions of dreaming will be more fully discussed below. Sometimes dreams of hunting include a familiar bit of country; the dreamer then knows that he has received a communication from the animal realm and that if he hunts in the locale shown in the dream he will certainly meet success.

Almost every person has one or more older relatives whose dreams and powers of intuitive prophecy he respects. In the community as a whole these people enjoy no standing as prophets, but their own family and immediate relatives listen to the revelations with great seriousness and frequently recall instances in which predictions were validated. Fortune telling mainly pertains to events like the arrival of visitors, the conception of a child, or the return of friends. Old Kean was exceptional in expressing a predilection for more ambitious prophecy, a tendency which was largely ignored by everyone except his grandson. Thus he stated that "bye and bye" the world would again disappear, as it once did, in a flood. All the Indians would be wiped out in that disaster and white men would take over the country. Asked if the Indians deserved such punishment, Old Kean affirmed they did and alluded to the fact that numerous relatives had made the people "all mixed up." A year previously he had maintained that the then current war would "clean out" the white men. "Something from that make water, big rain, and ground," he pointed out. This force was going to rectify evil in the world, particularly the evil of wholesale killing.

784 Many supernatural sanctions underlying and explaining avoidances still observed in Kaska society have been lost, and it is quite likely that soon all of these unexamined observances will be discontinued. Still held by some people is the belief that to make snowshoes in summer, or before there is snow on the ground, involves the danger of death. Another taboo forbids a woman to drink any liquid for twelve hours before smoking a moosehide, else a wet hide will emerge from the process. The one convinced not to eat eaten coffee lumber lost another powers she has already been mentioned. Those men who have acquired supernatural power from animals observe a taboo on eating all or some part of the breast-

[1] See Honigmann and Honigmann, *A Kaska Indian Hunting Oracle* (1949).

[2] Among the Hottentots, "If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: 'My son, my cousin, or some near relations will soon arrive' ". Peter, Travels in Africa, the Supreme Being of the Khan-Khoi (1801), 81.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

cent animals' flesh. Some fathers warn their sons not to eat moose marrow, the explanation being that marrow will destroy the boy's endurance and thus limit his moose hunting ability. A number of families avoid feeding their dogs the meat of trapped animals explaining: "If you do, never catch anything next time." Considerable respect is shown to the bear. Coming across a bear, River Joe once refused to kill the animal, vaguely explaining his behavior by saying that the meat was not good to eat. On another occasion the ethnographer's four year old son several times threw a bear paw into a brush fire. Each time Donald Sutta pulled it out and finally threw the part into the river. He would not reveal his objection to burning the paw. In discussing the incident Old Man explained that the Frances Lake Indians continue to regard "many things" as "bad business" and added that Lady Sutta will not eat bear meat.

The only religious rites and ceremonies in which the Kaska participate are those offered by Catholic missionaries. Such ceremonies include baptism, prayer, Mass, confession, and communion. During the summer, nightly devotions in Lower Post bring many people together to recite one or two decades of the rosary. The prayers are said in English, although a few people also know them in Kaska. Apart from such occasions, prayer is limited. River Joe said that during his wife's illness he had prayed for her improvement. The woman died and Joe is reported to have expressed resentment that his prayers were not answered. During the summer, Mass is celebrated every morning but in winter it is limited to Sundays. How well the symbolism and liturgy of the rite are understood could not be learned. When attending church services the sexes generally separate, men sitting on the left side of the building and women on the right.

Many people go to confession about once a year to confess such sins as drinking, swearing, and sexual offenses. The confession, according to Old Man, is prompted by the priest asking questions like: "Did you swear?" and then requesting the number of times that the offense was committed. Following confession the people may receive communion.

Christmas is the most important ceremonial holiday. In the winter settlements its celebration is sometimes begun on Christmas eve, when a brew is drunk, drinking may continue for several days. If the people are in the trading post, Mass is attended Christmas morning and, sometimes, an afternoon church party is given for children. In the summer of 1945, a religious ceremony occurred in connection with the consecration of the new church in Lower Post. The rite was performed by the bishop of the diocese and was witnessed by all the Indians then in the community. On the following morning a solemn high Mass was celebrated by the bishop assisted by two missionaries. Both ceremonies were marked by considerable glamor and quite appreciated by the Indians.

Attitudes of the people toward the priests vary, but in general are marked by respect and some tendency to ingratiation. In the case of many people one of the reasons for attending religious rites is a desire not to expose themselves to the direct attention of the missionaries. The priests, who are young men, try to be friendly and democratic and appear to be sincerely concerned in the Indians' temporal and spiritual welfare. Any direct interference of the missionaries in the life of the people is resented and may lead to an informal boycott of the church and school. Old Man stated that once when a missionary reported him to the police for drunkenness, he remained away from church until the priest suitably

1: Honigmann Σ-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

being derived primarily from perception, is alterable as perception reveals new data.[14] Perceptual knowledge, if true, leads to prediction and control. The success of these processes furnishes pragmatic proof of the validity of empirical beliefs. Deduction, of which mysticism is an example, is knowledge derived primarily by conception. Since purely deductive knowledge involves premises not derived from perceptual experience, such beliefs are not readily altered.

Inductive reasoning underlies many of the Kaska Indians' beliefs that guide behavior in the exploitative and technical aspects of the culture. The people have observed, for example, that marten remain in one region and do not travel indiscriminately like the fox or lynx. This empirical datum opens the possibility of control of the animal; marten may be most efficiently trapped by trapping them in the same area annually or they may be conserved by protecting them from trapping for several years. Other examples of empirical thought in Kaska society, some of them absurdly simple, are listed:

> A fire will thaw frozen ground.
> Wet garments on body parts are fatal in very cold weather.
> Scratching an infected skin spreads the area of infection.
> Blood endangers life if it enters the stomach.
> Death follows the stoppage of the heart and pulse beats.
> Old age reduces a person's stamina.
> Birch wood is hard and therefore suitable for a toboggan.
> Babiche is strong and useful for furnishing a firm bedding.
> Dogs need more food when they work hard.

Reasoning which is primarily deductive is the basis of ideas concerning taboos and dreams. In these cases a traditional belief is accepted as an unalterable premise from which certain events are assumed to follow. Many examples may be given. To drink water before smoking a moosehide results in a wet birth; to dream of a sexual situation premises female guests or male hunters; blood circulates through the entire body and, since the little finger is one extremity of the body, all blood must pass through this point. Any undesired failure of the expected behavior to follow in these sequences is usually not sufficient to influence the acceptance of belief in the premises. Failures in the occurrence of expected sequences are also readily overlooked. On the other hand, when the expected sequence does occur, this occurrence may be emphasized as evidence of the validity of the premise.[15]

[14] Scientific method, then, is merely a special form of empiricism in which perceptually derived knowledge is formally tested. As Koellreutter has pointed out, scientific method is a peculiar achievement of western society. Empiricism, however, the basis of scientific method, is worldwide in its distribution, although particular societies undoubtedly differ to the degree to which they rely on either deduction or induction. See Koellreutter, The Psychological Premises of Society (1940), and Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change (1945), pp. 9-11. Hallowell, Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion (1934).

[15] Edge distinguishes three universal processes in Labrador society—operational (or non-rational), empirical, and empirical (which he calls scientific). The Labrador, he points out, do not discriminate between a empirical and empirical apprehending of the universe, but they do distinguish between supernatural and natural. We find it worth remembering that all of these forms of thinking proceed logically or rationally. It is likely that such distinctions

ended her lodge was so close to the camp it almost formed a part of same. As soon as the girl was isolated, her mother, aunt or some elderly relative took charge of her and became her attendant and instructor. The girl was robed in a blanket of dressed caribou skin, which covered her almost down to her feet. The upper part reached above her head over which it was drawn so as to extend beyond her face on both sides. Some of these robes had the upper part sewed into a rude hood which covered her head and extended forward about two feet beyond her face, precluding her seeing on each side. The robe was held in place by a leather belt around the waist. She used the ample hood part of the robe to hide her face when she was aware of anything being near which should not see her face or which she herself should not see. It was believed her glance was harmful to men and to game etc. Men should not see her face nor be seen by her. For this reason all males, including her nearest relatives, kept away from her for several months and she kept out of their sight. Only females were allowed to visit her. Female relatives and neighboring women sometimes came to chat with her and give her instruction. They continued to visit her during the whole time of her training. During this period the girl had to learn something of all the work and duties which would devolve on her in future years.

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A small bag of grease was carred Attached to the same neck string as the drinking tube or to the ornamented flaps of the latter, and every day, early in the morning, the girl smeared her mouth or lips so she would not require much food. The sack was replenished from time to time as required. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.)

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For the first three to five days, the girl when eating wore a necklace consisting of a bent willow rod wrapped with hair of goat or sheep, etc. Of each kind of variety of meat she ate, she tied a small portion to the necklace with a string. This was done so the game would not become angry or sorry because she (a pubescent) had eaten of their flesh. If the animals became sorry, insulted, or angry they would withhold (or withdraw) themselves and the hunters would be unable to get them or have other bad luck in hunting them. For the same reasons fresh meat was taboo. If, by necessity, other meat or food not being available, the girl had to eat fresh meat of the principal game, she wore a mask whilst eating it. These masks were made of light willow hoops covered with skin of doe, sheep or other game animals. The only fresh meat which girls could eat were ptarmigan and the different varieties of grouse. On the first day the girl smeared her face with pitch & gum of trees, and discovered it by rubbing charcoal over

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A few stole away at night to visit or sleep with sweethearts, but this was not the rule. Most lads were afraid to have any connection with the opposite sex, at least during their treining period, for it was believed a lad doing so would be retarded in obtaining a manitou and would never be a good hunter. It is said the young men had a great deal of fun among themselves and many did; married men consider the years they spent in the young men's lodge as the most happy time of their lives.

MARRIAGE

582 Persons could only marry members of the opposite phratry and never one of their own. The male 584 took the initiative and did the choosing in marrying the girl of his choice. His mother with her husband then went to see the girl's parents. If they were agreeable the marriage was thereupon arranged and the lad was told he would get the girl. The lad now com- 583 menced to work for his future parents-in-law. He gathered and split wood for them whenever he saw they required help of this kind, and he also hunted frequently and gave them the game he killed. He was very attentive to them and was constantly on the alert to do them some service. If his future parents-in-law went off on some lengthy hunting or trapping trip he accompanied them and worked for them. He also hunted

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

he pulled the noose tight. Boys sought to catch rabbits and other small birds with snowshoe traps. Snowshoes were placed on their sides so that they met at an acute angle. Bait was placed under the trap, from which a line extended to a cover where the young hunters lay in concealment. As a bird entered the structure a boy pulled the line, bringing the snowshoes down on the helpless prize.

For hunting caribou, circular enclosures were built that often reached a diameter of 50 feet. Such surrounds consisted of a circle of upright poles with in-between spaces piled with brush. Various points along the fence held snares, each man who cooperated in the building of the pen also setting a few snares. Cooperative effort drove the animals into the surround, where they could be pursued and dispatched with arrows. A wounded caribou could never be clubbed to death nor might its be touched with wood. To violate these injunctions promised a quick end to a hunter's success and might bring retribution in the form of illness. Men sometimes drove caribou into a ravine or against a cliff, where they could easily be speared to death. Sometimes human beings formed caribou "surrounds."

Semicircular tracking, involving a hunter pursuing an animal against the wind, figured in caribou and moose hunting. For this procedure in dry weather, a man removed his moccasins upon encountering a fresh track. Bare feet enabled him to move more quickly, it was said. In autumn caribou and moose were called with birch bark horns or with a moose scapula rubbed briskly against a tree. During the moose calling season a man exercised caution never to take a moose scapula into camp lest a woman set eyes on the bone. Should this happen, he might lose his hunting ability. Before animal traction became prevalent small dogs assisted hunters in running down moose and bear.

Other hunting techniques included breaking into a beaver house in autumn and killing the occupants with spears. The same animals were also taken with nets or with the gaff stick, an implement further employed to hook a porcupine in its den. In summer porcupine could be clubbed to death easily.

Kills of large game ended up by being shared between the hunter's and neighboring families who customarily sent representatives to pack home the meat. At the scene of a kill each man selected that part of the animal appealing to him. Sometimes, especially when meat was scarce, quarreling might occur over the food's distribution. A story is told of one man who sought to tear a caribou head from the clutch of another. The latter fiercely held on to the tongue until that organ was wrenched from the mouth. A "lazy" man, who did not choose to hunt, freely joined a party going to fetch meat from a kill. Failure to share meat aroused resentment and ridicule. As already indicated, men did the greater part of hunting, boys early accompanying fathers into the bush to learn the necessary techniques. A man who lacked sons might train his oldest daughter to hunt, but her success in such work was believed to depend largely on her chastity.

Although the Upper Liard Kaska, like other northern Indians, regarded game as the most attractive food, actually fish provided the dietary mainstay of the population. From the lakes and rivers people took jackfish, lake pickerel, lake and brook trout, whitefish (in smaller numbers because they were also the prey of jackfish), grayling, burbot, and sucker. Clubbing, spearing, shooting with bow and arrow, netting, and trap-

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River
Tsalona

to the other, covered such a structure. Families also utilized simpler pitstorm caches, the food on these being covered with brush or bark held in place with heavy logs.

Women cooked on occasions when the family ate as a unit. Food was served on bark dishes or in wooden bowls. Spoons of sheep or caribou horn facilitated eating. People took meals twice a day, morning and night, both sexes as well as children eating together. An informant denied gormandizing, remarking that the people knew very well when to cease eating.

Tsalona. The fat game in the high country attracted the families in autumn. With the onset of winter the bands descended to a fish lake, from which the men went out to fetch meat from caches, hauling back the load on skin toboggans. Often only two families spent the winter together: a fishing site—two brothers and their wives and children or about ten people in all. Summer sent the hunters to set snares for moose and goats. All summer the men "kept on the move," following game. The usual vegetable foods were gathered by women, including blueberries, low bush cranberries, snowberries, raspberries, currants, and soap berries. The latter berries were never mixed with grease because the berries would "smell" the grease and "smile down again, not make soap." In other words, they would not froth as they did when mashed with water.[1] People ate lily bulbs raw as well as cooked. Bark vessels served to catch birch and poplar sap for drinking. Both sexes chewed spruce gum but gumdrop remained unpracticed. Spruce, birch, and jackpine fibers, peeled with a knife, were eaten raw, as was wild rhubarb which, however, people took pains to "skin." Wild onions were cooked with meat. The informant denied any use of willow buds and wild rice for food, the latter being unrecognized in this area. Two varieties of muskeg tea were sought by gatherers, the stems and leaves of both types being boiled. The species could be identified only as tse'hane and dinnakot.

Our informant confidently stated that moose had always populated the country of the Tsalona but denied the presence of elk, wood buffalo, and mountain sheep. Moose were sneared and also hunted with the bow, the hunter relying on semicircular tracking to approach within close range of his prey. In season the moose might be called with a dried moose muzzle. No customs of removing encumbrances while tracking game could be recalled. Sometimes a line of men moving forward in concerted action drove a moose toward a series of snares. Caribou were also caught in snares, and skin decoys further assisted in the hunting of that animal. A hunter who wanted to kill a bear when it was summer, sought to surprise the animal in a berry patch, shooting it first with an arrow and then finishing it off with a bone bearing a caribou-horn point. In winter men obtained bears by shooting them while in a den or by thrusting lances into the lair. Sometimes a smoke fire served to drive the animal out of its winter dwelling. Lances also aided in killing beaver in the spring. A porcupine could easily be clubbed to death but in winter had first to be smoked out of its house. No taboo forbade the clubbing of any animal. Following the introduction of dogs, people employed them to track game. Other

[1] Fr. Pike reports the coastal tribes to permit soap berries "till a thick froth, much resembling soap bubbles, gathers. . . . this froth, with a judicious mixture of salmon oil—or, better still, seal oil—they consider one of the things worth living for." Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 35-36.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tsetsaut
Upper Liard

756 bone. Poplar, willow, any kind stick [i.e., tree] make doctor." Thunder, too, could confer power and gave a man the ability to control weather. A man's power helped him to retain old age but when he died his acquired ability "died" with him.

756 787 The vision quest among the Tsetsaut involved the aspirant's seclusion in the forest, where he saw animals or other spouses who sang to him. As a rule only a boy undertook searching for a vision but occasionally a girl also slept in the bush and secured shamanistic power. Only when engaged in curing did the shaman wear a distinctive garb, for example carrying a fur scarf around his neck. The skin represented his power source. Neither drum nor rattle played a part in curing. According to our informant only Cree shamans drummed. Conjuring could not be recalled but the informant had heard of a similar practice among other Indian groups.

MAGIC

789 The term magic is used in this section to include not only behavior but also a manner of thinking or state of mind. The major characteristic of magic is that it holds material things or behavioral events "to be the unfailing residence of certain intrinsic qualities."[8] Magic as a term thus includes ideas as well as manifest avoidances and other rites, like amulet wearing, removing illness by sucking, and various forms of divination. Not all of the magical observances in Kaska culture have been incorporated in this section. A number have been introduced previously (for example in connection with warfare) while others will be included with the life cycle.

789 784 825 *Upper Liard Kaska.* In pre-contact times the Indians of the Cassiar recognized several species of animals as magically dangerous. Holding first place in this category we find the otter, a creature that in this region occupies the focal point of ideology which among other Mackenzie drainage people is reserved for the wolf.[9] Like the mink, the otter could drive persons insane, subject them to fainting, sweatbind, and produce more serious illness such as "twisting up." Both animals were avoided as food. A mink inadvertently caught in a deadfall had its carcass thrown into the fire and covered with feathers. This "put them [i.e., mink] in good mind." To take a live mink from a trap was particularly dangerous. An otter taken in a beaver deadfall was returned to the stream or lake with instructions to one's children not to drink water near the place. Dreaming of the otter made people fearful and such dreams were regarded as originating with the animal itself. Otters possessed power to transform themselves into human beings.[10] Attitudes of profound respect and avoidance were not lacking for the wolf. A hunter who wounded this animal always let it go free with the expectation that the creature would again present itself to the hunter. Should it then be killed, a depletion of game would follow within two or three years.[11] Thus the cyclic fluctuation of game animals appears

[8] Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 95.

[9] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 76.

[10] "... the land otter was dreaded more than any other creature. This was on account of his supposed supernatural power, fearsome for stealing people away, depriving them of their senses, and turning them into otter men.... Truly has the Tlingit world not one theme for fear." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 458.

[11] "... the wolf was also supposed to possess great power." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

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to have been recognized by the Indians, who regarded such variation as magically induced. The killing of wolves and crows was also avoided in deference to the members of the moieties named after those animals.

Contemporary informants still categorize the mink, otter, and wolf as "devil's helpers." Also allied with Gusilina are the snake, toad,[8] elephant (nu'uti), shark, wolverine, flying squirrel, and grizzly bear.[9] Some of the items in this list were undoubtedly known only by hear-say, if they were known at all in aboriginal times. Of the wolverine it was said that he stole on behalf of the devil.[10] The flying squirrel sought to remove people from this world but to kill the animal promised illness and its meat was never eaten. The grizzly occupied himself with trying to kill men for the devil and manifested extraordinary sensitivity to ridicule. When slighted he might harbor resentment for several years until finally taking his revenge by killing the person who had laughed at him.[11] Magical power of another quality was ascribed to the beaver, moose, and caribou. Beaver bones had always to be discarded in the fire, while the bones of the other two species were thrown far away from camp in an effort to attract fresh game to the locale. People burned the hair scraped from a moose hide. If a woman stepped on this material her husband would become powerless to kill moose, while if a dog ate moose meat then the owner would never again be able to track the moose successfully. To club wounded caribou caused illness. It was very foolish to make pets of large game animals. Raising a young moose, beaver, or bear in captivity would promote the deaths of many people. The children of the captor would die off as the species of animal multiplied, the deaths of one balancing increase of the other.

Young men took water, grease, and bone marrow in measured quantities both in order to preserve their health and to enhance their hunting ability. Too much water interfered with digestion and hence undermined a man's capacity for sustained effort. Grease was "too heavy" for a youth. Leg tendons also remained taboo for young men; to eat them invited the danger of leg cramps at a time when unhampered movement was essential. The hind quarters of an animal were best avoided in favor of the forward portions that contained "strength." Boys ate lightly and not until a man's marriage had produced four or five children should he begin to eat as much as he cared to of whatever he liked. Such avoidances did not apply to girls, because women were not hunters and their work was not as exhausting as men's. 262

The relationship entered into between a man and his animal sponsor did not result in a complete avoidance of that animal for food in those cases where the species was 789 784

[8] "The slime exuding from a frog's skin was thought to be very poisonous and fatal to smaller creatures." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 458.

[9] Old World folklore also accounts for the evil dispositions of certain animals by classifying them as creatures of the devil. Thompson, *Folktale* (1946), 256.

[10] "The wolverine . . . was also held in great respect." Christianized Tlingit regarded him "next to the devil for badness." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 458.

[11] Special respect for the grizzly has been reported for the Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455.

4: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

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784 commonly exploited. Some parts of the meat would be avoided. Often the animal helper itself prescribed the avoidance to be followed. Thus a moose might tell the dreamer, "Eat only my ribs," "Don't eat my head," or "Don't eat my guts."

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784 Cohabitation promised to be magically dangerous under some circumstances and therefore had to be avoided.[28] For example a man held off from coitus in the night before he started on a hunt. Following his return the hunter remained continent for about six days.[29] Miscellaneous avoidances included the taboo on making snowshoes before snow lay on the ground and a reluctance to deposit parts of the human body on or in the earth. Apparently because of the disgust associated with rotten things like teeth, the umbilicus, the afterbirth, and perhaps the corpse were rather cached or burned, than buried. Whistling met with special precautions, but use of the willow whistle does not seem to have been affected.

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787 By far the largest amount of magical ritual concerned itself with hunting and the cure of illness. Not only could a shaman through divination learn the location of game but he could then perform rites to guarantee the successful killing of food. Singing the songs which had been learned from one's animal sponsors secured hunting luck; a "moose doctor" for example sang his "moose song." Men with inadequate power frequently asked a stronger shaman to perform rites in their behalf. Seated alongside the practitioner the hunter might accompany the shaman by singing. On other occasions a man with strong power etched the image of an animal on a small piece of caribou bone. The hunter took this amulet on his journey and returned it when it had served its purpose. Other amulets, like a piece of weasel or loon skin worn in the hat, assured all-around good luck. Any man might be fortunate in finding substances that assured successful hunting. Such "medicines" (perhaps earths?) were shaped like pills and carried on the hunter's person. In early post-contact times a man who struck a moose trail would smoke one of these pellets in his pipe, at the same time singing and wishing to encounter that animal. Another form of hunting ritual involved an older brother tearing open the left sleeve of his coat when a younger sibling killed his first large game animal. The ritual insured a lasting abundance of game. Instead of remaining hidden the animals would fall out of the sleeve, metaphorically speaking. Scapulimancy performed by a shaman sometimes preceded hunting for moose, caribou, and bear. The following account probably indicates that the informant had forgotten the details of this technique. The shaman is said to have begun by singing, at the same time placing the scapula of a moose or caribou near the fire. Heat, the informant explained, caused a moose or other animal to appear on the surface of the bone. This indicated that the hunter would have good luck whereas if an image failed to materialize then he would kill nothing. At the end of the performance the shaman blew on the bone, flipped his fingers, and caused the design to vanish. As elsewhere in the northern forest it is likely that cracks in the scapula were interpreted.[30]

[28] See also pp. 94, 96, 117, 118, 134–136, and 160.

[29] Continence as a preparatory observance for luck is widespread among Pacific Coast tribes, including the Tlingit and Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 221.

[30] "... people used to talk to a piece of bone that comes out of a wolf's shoulder blade, saying, 'Will

6: Hoijer, H. E-5 (1943-1945) 934 ND:2 Nelson ND:2
Dene River
Tsilhqot.

Dene River Kaska. Many of the animal avoidances common among the Upper Liard people have ceased by the Dene River Indians. Danger once from the elk and otter, while the killing of a coal always produced illness. People fed moose, caribou, and beaver flesh to dogs, and informants did not admit to having been careful in disposing of moose hair. Women are any part of an animal that a man used for food. Dreams animals, from whom power had been obtained, were avoided for food but otherwise completely as only to part we did not learn. Illness followed violation of such taboos. Young men and women drank lightly of water, apparently in order to maintain their strength.* No restrictions on youths' drinking groups were admitted. A man avoided coitus with his wife for one night before going to hunt.

Shamans made hunting magic by singing magical animal songs accompanied by other men. Singing also appeared in curing ceremonies. Any person with some power, even a youth, might perform healing magic. Should the disease not be relieved, increasingly more powerful (reputed?) shamans would be solicited. Successful cures enhanced a practitioner's reputation. In addition to confession, techniques of divining included blowing into the person to remove the latter's soul when it was believed to have been stolen through sorcery. A shaman also sucked intrusive disease from the body, revealing excess or very little animals that had caused the ailment. Sometimes a practitioner blew his breath into a vessel containing water for the sick man to drink.

Sorcery involved the capture of another person's wind. This produced illness. Any man with sufficient power could succeed with malevolent magic, or else the services of a stronger shaman guaranteed successful completion of the deed. Only evilly disposed men accepted such employment, believing that to group society men with disapproval. The man who produced illness could also cure it and sometimes allowed to do so in exchange for a payment of skins. Suspected black magicians inspired fear and respect. No physical sanctions appear to have been directed against their activities.

Supplementary was practiced. The half-moon possessed magical power and a man young in his magical endeavors, to skip stone successfully and also to bring about soldier worthiness.

Taboos. Certain animals aroused great fear and were never engaged. These included the flying squirrel, toad, mink, and grass.* To kill one of these creatures promised that one's children would sicken and die. The wolf and wolverine were also avoided for fear

* Before marriage a Tlingit boy's uncle told him: "Do not drink too much water or it will make you lazy." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 426. See also above, p. 427.

* For the Dene Lake Indians' attitudes of respect have been reported regarding the wolf, toad, salamander, and otter. "The Indians around us had many superstitions regarding wolves, a fifty dog [sled] a wolf would scare off a hundred, or a person bore as a wolves than most seven kill a wolf, because if he did, the hunter's female relatives may conceive to become lovers." Children were startled when shown toads. "It was quite taboo for them to touch or get near frogs." Both an entire weasel skins or bones and all parts of hunting things." To touch salamanders "might mean that a man would lose all the worldly possessions." Otter skulls were preserved by the youngsters and would not be surrendered to the caretakers but the "mother would be pestered by the saints of the time deserted wives and eventually become insane." Osgood-Fletcher, *Ethnology in the Wake of Arctic Columbia* (1940), 126, 127, 128.

and food (as they do not seem to have possessed the same dangerous powers as the witch, for example). The informant denied any general avoidance of the deer. Neither were people said more regard to take than others. Clarification of this statement could not be secured. Perhaps a man who enjoyed more power felt less fear for that animal. Following their interpretation to conclusion, dogs were to eat the meat of any animal but not the big carnivore or scavengers of the woods. Avoidance of these foods preserved the dog's swiftness.

A young man observed a number of food avoidances designed to develop superior hunting. He should never lightly slay many animals (ballast) meats. Avoidance of the beverage negatively helped a man to obtain greater power over game. He ate not sparingly of big carnivore, carrion scavengers, and some fowls but his quickness and endurance to fatigue became impaired. The successful cooking of large game depended on speed. No grease spoons were known. Except during menstruation when a woman avoided fresh meat, women ate the same foods eaten by men. Avoidances designed to develop hunting power did not apply to women. As the informant explained, "Game don't mean him, that woman." Female animals played no part in the diet, nor being eaten in whole or part. Some dominion women were perceptive of beaver and otters adjacent the head of women. These observances would seem to be auxiliary to the taboo on the meat of the animal spouses or may represent a partial consolidation of that awareness. Cohabitation taboos prior to hunting were stated.

Prayers [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]